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COBBETT'S
POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XXIII.

FROM JANUARY TO JUNE,

1813.



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1]

TO THE
PRINCE REGENT,
ON THE DISPUTE WITH AMERICA.

Letter X.

Sir,

During the two years that I was imprisoned in Newgate, for writing and publishing an article upon the flogging of certain English Militia-men, at Ely, in England, under the superintendence of German troops, and for which writing and publishing I, besides, paid your Royal Highness a fine of a thousand pounds, in behalf of your Royal Sire; during that time I endeavoured, in various ways, to expiate my offence, but in no way more strenuously than in trying to dissuade you from yielding to advice, which, as I thought, would, if followed, produce a war with the American States. That consequence, which I so much dreaded, and which I laboured with so much earnestness to prevent, has unhappily taken place; and, though it may be of no service; though my efforts may still be unavailing; nay, though I may receive abuse instead of thanks for my pains, I cannot refrain; the love I bear my own country, and the regard I shall ever bear a great part of the people of America, will not suffer me to refrain from making one more trial to convince your Royal Highness, that the path of peace is still fairly open with that country, and that pacific measures are the only measures which ought even now to be pursued.

In one of my Letters to your Royal Highness, I endeavoured to convince you, that it was to the base, the prostituted press, of England, that we were likely to owe this war; I pointed out to your Royal Highness the means resorted to by that press in order to deceive the people of England; and, I expressed my apprehensions, that those means would succeed. That press, that vile and infamous press, which is the great enemy of the liberties of Europe and America as well as of England, was incessant in its efforts to cause it to be believed, that, in no case, would the American Government dare to go to war. It

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asserted, that America would be totally ruined by six months of war; that the people would not pay the taxes necessary to carry it on; that the President, for only barely talking of war, would be put out of his chair; that the "*American Navy*," as it was called by way of ridicule, would be "*swept from the ocean in a month*;" and, that, in short, a war with America was a thing for Englishmen to laugh at; a subject of jest and mockery.

This was the style and tone of the hireling press in London, and, with very few exceptions, the country prints followed the stupid and insolent example. Events have already shown how false all these assertions were; and now, as is its usual practice, this same corrupt press is pouring forth *new falsehoods*, with a view of urging on the war, and of reconciling the people to its calamities.

It was my endeavour to show your Royal Highness the real state of the case. I said, that the people of America, though wisely averse from war, as the great source of taxation and loss of liberty, would, nevertheless, submit to its inconveniences rather than submit to the terms which it was recommended, in our hireling prints, to impose upon them. I begged your Royal Highness to disbelieve those, who said that the American Government dared not go to war, and that Mr. Madison would not be re-elected. I besought you to reflect upon the consequences of rushing into a war with that country, amongst which consequences I included the forming of a *great Naval force* on the other side of the Atlantic, and the not less fearful measure of *manning a French Fleet with American Sailors*. Our hired press affects to turn into *jest* a proposition said to have been made by the President for the building of *twenty frigates*. If he has made that proposition, however, and, if the war continue *only a year*, your Royal Highness will find that the twenty frigates are launched upon the ocean. The ignorant and saucy writers in London, who live up to their lips in luxury, and whose gains are not at all dependant upon the prosperity of the country; these men care

A

not how the people suffer. Their object is to prolong the war, which suits the views of all those with whom they are connected. They assert whatever presents itself as likely to promote this object, and, therefore, they take no pains to ascertain whether the building of twenty frigates is, or is not, a matter of easy execution in America. If they did, they would find, that the Americans have the Timber, the Iron, the Pitch, the Hemp, *all of the produce of their own country*; all in abundance; all, of course, cheap; and, as to dock-yards, and other places to build ships, inquiry would teach these ignorant and insolent men, that, in many cases, the Timber grows upon the very spot where the ship is to be built, and that to cut it down and convert it into a ship is to do a great benefit to the owner of the land.

And, then, as to the *pecuniary means*: to hear the language of our hirelings, one would imagine, that the people of America were all *beggars*; that the country contained scarcely a man of property; that there were no such things as money, house goods, cattle, or manufactures. They must, indeed, confess that the country grows *corn*; but, somehow or other, they would have us believe, that there are, in America, no *means*; no *resources*. They cannot disguise from us the fact, that there are fine cities and towns; that there is a commercial marine not far behind our own in point of magnitude; that the exports from the country amount annually to more than half as much as our exports, and that they consist of articles of first necessity; that the country contains all the articles of useful manufactory, and that manufactures are making great progress; nay, that they have arrived at great perfection; that the country is stocked with sheep, that great source of a nation's wealth, and that to so high a degree have these animals succeeded, that many single proprietors have already flocks of more than a thousand head. These facts the hired press cannot disguise from us; or, at least, from those amongst us, who are not wilfully blind. Upon what ground, then, Sir, would they have us believe, that America is *destitute of resources*? The things which I have here spoken of, are things of which national riches consist: they form the means of making national exertions; of sending forth fleets and armies. And, we ought to bear in mind, that America, that this new enemy of ours, has a population of more than *eight millions of souls*; none of whom are *paupers*;

none of whom are clad in rags; none of whom are without *meat* upon their table daily; not one soul of whom would condescend to pull off his hat to any human being. And this is the nation, a nation, too, descended from ourselves, that the hirelings of the London press represent as *destitute of resources*!

Perhaps, Sir, the resources of America are estimated according to *the salaries which their public functionaries receive*; and, measured by this standard, our new enemy must, indeed, appear wholly unable to contend against us for a single day; for the President, the Vice President, the Secretaries of State, the Treasury, War, Navy, and all their clerks; that is to say, the whole of the Officers of the Executive Government, do not receive *more than about half the amount of Lord Arden's sinecure*, as stated in the report to the House of Commons in 1808. Nay, the *Apothecary to our Army* does, according to the same report, receive, in clear profits, annually, as much as twice the amount of the Salary of the President of the United States. Our Chief Justice, in salary and emoluments, as stated in the Reports laid before Parliament, receives annually a great deal more than Mr. Madison, Mr. Monroe, Mr. Gallatin, and the Secretaries of War and the Navy in America, all put together. I shall, perhaps, be told, that our public functionaries *ought to receive more than those in America*. That is a point which I shall leave for others to dispute. I content myself with stating the facts; but, if I am told, that we ought not to measure the salaries of our functionaries by the American standard, I must beg leave, in my turn, to protest against measuring the expenses of war in America by the standard of war expenses in England. I must insist, too, that the resources of a country are not to be measured by the standard of the salaries of its public functionaries. I should take quite a different standard for the measuring of the resources of America. We know, that, upon a population of *ten millions*, in Great Britain, a revenue of about *eighty millions of pounds* is now annually raised; and that, in these ten millions of people we include, at least, *two millions of paupers*. Now, then, if they raise but a *tenth part* as much upon the *eight millions* of Americans, who have no paupers amongst them, their eight millions will be four times as much as was ever yet raised in the country in any one year; and, it is, I think, not too much to suppose, that an American will bear a

tenth part as much taxes as an Englishman, in the prosecution of a war declared by the vote of *representatives freely chosen by the people at large*. Eight millions of pounds sterling, raised for three or four successive years, would build a navy that I should, and that I do, contemplate with great uneasiness; for, as I once before had the honour to state to your Royal Highness, the Americans are as good sailors as any that the world ever saw. It is notorious that the American merchant ships sail with fewer hands, in proportion to their size, than the merchant ships of any other nation; the Americans are active in their persons; they are enterprising; they are brave; and, which is of vast consequence, they are, from education and almost from constitution, SOBER, a virtue not at all less valuable in an army or a fleet than it is in domestic life.

This, Sir, is a view of the means and resources of America very different, perhaps, from the views which some persons might be disposed to present to your Royal Highness; and, if this my view of the matter be correct, it surely becomes us to be very cautious how we force these resources into action, and set them in array against us, backed, as they will be, with the implacable hatred of the American people. If, indeed, the *honour* of England required the setting of these resources at defiance; if England must either confess her disgrace, must basely abandon her known rights; must knuckle down to America, or brave the consequences of what I have been speaking of; I should then say, in the words of the old Norman proverb (adopted by the French in answer to the Duke of Brunswick's proclamation), "*let honour be maintained, happen what will.*"

But, Sir, the question is: *does the honour of England require the making of this perilous experiment?* In my opinion it does not; and I now, with the most anxious hope, that, at last, they may be attended with some effect, proceed respectfully to submit to your Royal Highness the reasons upon which this opinion is founded.

The dispute with regard to the *Orders in Council* I look upon as being at an end; for, though all is not quite clear in that respect, an arrangement seems to be matter of little difficulty. But, as I am sure your Royal Highness will do me the honour to recollect, I took the liberty to warn the public, the very week that the *Orders in Council* were done away, that that measure *alone* would do nothing towards preventing

war with America. I then said, and in the most distinct terms and without any hesitation, that America would never be content without a complete abandonment, on our part, of the practice of *seizing persons on board her ships upon the high seas*. I formed this opinion upon the general tone of the American prints; upon the declaration of the Congress; and especially upon information contained in letters received from friends in America, in whose hearts, strange as it may appear to some, my imprisonment in Newgate seems to have revived former feelings towards me. These letters, written by persons (be it observed) strongly attached to England, for no others did I ever number amongst my friends; these letters assured me, that *the people* of America; not the *government*; not "*a faction*," as our hirelings have called them; that the people of America, from one end of the country to the other, cried for war in preference to longer submission to the stopping of their vessels on the high seas, and taking persons out of them, at the discretion of our officers. Upon this information, coming, in some cases, three hundred miles from the Atlantic coasts, I could safely rely; and, therefore, I did not hesitate to pronounce, that the repeal of the *Orders in Council* alone would not preserve peace; nor, was I a little surprised to hear Mr. Brougham declare, that if that measure did not satisfy America, he, for one, would support a war against her.

The question, then, is now reduced to this: Does the honour of England demand, that she insist upon continuing the practice of which America complains, and against which she is now making war? To answer this question, we must ascertain, whether the practice of which America complains *be sanctioned by the usages of nations*; whether the giving of it up would be to yield any *known right* of England; because, in the case of the affirmative, to yield would be to make a sacrifice of our honour, rather than which I agree that we ought to continue the war to the last extremity, it being much less disgraceful to submit to actual force, than to submit to menaces.

My opinion is, however, decidedly in the negative; and I will not disguise from your Royal Highness, that I never felt surprise more complete (to give my feelings no stronger appellation) than that which I experienced at reading the following passage in the letter of Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Russell of the 29th of August last: — "I cannot, however, refrain on one

“single point from expressing my surprise; namely, that, as a condition, preliminary even to a suspension of hostilities, the Government of the United States should have thought fit to demand, that the British Government should desist from its *ancient and accustomed practice of impressing British seamen from the merchant ships of a Foreign State*, simply on the assurance that a law shall hereafter be passed, to prohibit the employment of British seamen in the public or commercial service of that State.—The British Government now, as heretofore, is ready to receive from the Government of the United States, and amicably to discuss, any proposition which professes to have in view either *to check abuse in exercise of the practice of impressment*, or to accomplish, by means less liable to vexation, the object for which impressment has hitherto been found necessary, but they cannot consent to suspend the exercise of a right upon which the naval strength of the empire mainly depends, until they are fully convinced that means can be devised, and will be adopted, by which the object to be obtained by the exercise of that right can be effectually secured.”

Being no Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, I shall, I trust, be excused if I am found to understand less of the “ancient and accustomed practice” of Great Britain as to this matter; but, Sir, I have never before heard, except from the London news-papers, that Great Britain did ever, until now, attempt to take persons of any description out of neutral vessels sailing upon the high seas; and very certain I am, that such a practice is not warranted, nay, that it never was thought of, by any of those authors who have written upon public law. I do not recollect a single instance in which we have exercised what is here called a right; and, if in the abandonment of the practice, we give up no known right of England, such abandonment can be no dishonour; unless, which would be a monstrous proposition, it be regarded as dishonourable to cease to do any thing, because the doing of it has been the subject of complaint and the object of resistance.

The men who conduct the London news-papers, and whose lucubrations are a sore affliction to their native country, have long been charging the Americans with a wish to give up her “right of search,” and to surrender this falsehood has been their ignorance, or from that

impunity in deception, or, rather, encouragement to deceive, which such writers have so long experienced in England, I will not take upon me to determine; but, I know well, that it is a most audacious falsehood; I know that America has never expressed even a wish to make us give up “the right of search;” and, if her government were to attempt to accomplish such an end by war, I am quite sure that it would soon lose the support of the people. But, “the right of search” is not, and never has been, for a moment, by any writer on public law, considered as a right to search for persons, except, indeed, military persons, and those, too, openly employed in the enemy’s service. “The right of search” is a right, possessed by a belligerent power, to search for and to seize as good prize, any articles contraband of war, such as guns, powder, and the like, which may be on board of a neutral ship going to an enemy’s port; because, by carrying the said articles, the neutral does, in fact, aid the enemy in carrying on the war. This right has been further extended to any goods, belonging to an enemy, found on board a neutral vessel; because, by becoming the carrier of his goods, the neutral does, in fact, screen his goods, as far as possible, from capture, and does thereby also aid the enemy. This is what is called “the right of search;” a right, however, which, as far as relates to goods, has been often denied by neutral powers, and which we actually gave up to the threats of Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, towards the end of the last American war.

But, of this right, of no part of this right, do the Americans now complain. They yield to the exercise of this right in all its rigour. But, they deny that we have any right at all; they deny that we have a pretence to any right to stop their vessels upon the high seas, and to take out of them any persons whatever, unless, indeed, military persons in the service of our enemy; and, I repeat it, Sir, that I know of no usage of nations; that I know of no ancient usage of our own even; that I know of no law, maxim, principle, or practice, to sanction that of which the Americans complain, and in resistance of which they are now armed and at war; and, therefore, I am of opinion, that to abandon this practice would be no dishonour to England.

Lord Castlereagh talks of our right to “impress British seamen from the merchant ships of a foreign state.” Im-



pressment may take place in our ports and harbours; and, there, if confined to our own seamen, America does not object to it. It is upon the *high seas* that she objects to impressment; because there the matter *must* be left to the discretion of the British officer. It is there a matter of power. There is no one to appeal to; there is no umpire; there is no judge to look into proofs, and to decide. The searching officer may, under his discretion, take out as many men as he pleases; he may leave the ship destitute of the hands necessary to conduct her a league; and, he may take out American citizens as well as English subjects. That this may be done is quite certain, because it has been done in countless instances. Thousands of native Americans, thus impressed, have been released by our Admiralty on the official application of the American agents; and, who can doubt that many thousands remain unreleased? General Lyman, late American Consul in London, once stated, in a report to his government, that there were about *fourteen thousand* native Americans then on board our fleet, who had been impressed from on board American ships on the high seas. He might possibly exaggerate; but it is not to be doubted that the number was, and has constantly been, very considerable. And, I beg your Royal Highness to take a serious view of the great hardships experienced by Americans thus impressed. Taken from their lawful and peaceable pursuits; dragged into a service and forced under a discipline so little congenial with their habits and their prejudices; wafted away to sickly climates, exposed to all the dangers of battle, taken, perhaps for ever, from the sight and the knowledge of their homes and friends; and, if, by chance (for it can be nothing more), restored at last, restored (as has often been the case) with the loss of health or of limbs, and, at the very least, with the loss of time, and that, too, in the prime of their lives; and carrying about them, for the remainder of their days, feelings towards England which I need not attempt to describe.

Your Royal Highness's heart will tell you, I hope, much better than I can, not what *is*, but what *must* be, the effect of such a practice, carried on against a people, who are not only the children of Englishmen, but of those Englishmen who preferred freedom in a wilderness across the ocean to slavery in their native land. This it is, Sir, that has, at last, kindled the flame of war in a country where the

very name of war was too hateful to be endured.

But, in answer to all this, it is said, by Lord Castlereagh, that "*the naval strength of the empire mainly depends*" upon the continuation of this practice of impressment. That is to say, if we take the whole of the facts into view, our naval strength mainly depends upon a practice which exposes so many of the American citizens to misery and ruin. The plain meaning of our perseverance in the practice is this: that, if we do not continue it, our seamen will desert to the American ships in such numbers as to leave us without the possibility of obtaining a sufficiency of men to man and fight our fleet. Supposing this to be the fact, it really forms no justification of the practice; for, we can have no right to put America to any inconvenience whatever merely for our own benefit, or to save ourselves from loss or danger. The President, however, in order to show, that he does not wish us to receive any injury in this way, and in order, if possible, to put an end to the war, has made a voluntary offer of a law to be passed in America to prevent our seamen from being admitted into American ships, upon condition, that we will first abandon our practice of impressment, and give up, that is, restore to their liberty, those native Americans whom we have already impressed. Mr. Russell, in his letter to Lord Castlereagh, says:—"While, however, it regards this course as the only one which remained for it to pursue with a hope of preserving any portion of that kind of character, which constitutes the vital strength of every nation, yet it is still willing to give another proof of the spirit which has uniformly distinguished its proceedings, by seeking to arrest, on terms consistent with justice and honour, the calamities of war. It has therefore authorized me to stipulate with His Britannic Majesty's Government, an armistice to commence at or before the expiration of sixty days after the signature of the instrument providing for it, on condition that the Orders in Council be repealed, and no illegal blockades to be substituted to them, and that orders be immediately given to discontinue the impressment of persons from American vessels, and to restore the citizens of the United States already impressed; it being moreover well understood that the British Government will assent to enter into definitive arrangements as soon as

"may be, on these and every other dif-
 "ference, by a Treaty to be concluded
 "either at London or Washington, as on
 "an impartial consideration of existing
 "circumstances shall be deemed most ex-
 "pedient. As an inducement to Great
 "Britain to discontinue the practice of im-
 "pressment from American vessels, I am
 "authorized to give assurance that a law
 "shall be passed (to be reciprocal) to pro-
 "hibit the employment of British seamen in
 "the public or commercial service of the
 "United States."

Really, Sir, it is not possible, it appears to me, to suggest any thing more reasonable than this. I can form an idea of nothing more strongly expressive of a desire to put an end to the war. What! shall it be said that England wages a war, when she might terminate it by such means? I trust not, and that we shall not have to weep over a much longer continuation of this unfortunate contest.

I know, that there are persons who treat the idea of a law, passed by the Congress, with contempt. But, if this is to be the course pursued, the war will not soon have an end. We *must* treat America with respect. We *must* do it; and the sooner we begin the better. Some of the impudent hireling writers in London, affect to say, that no credit is to be given to any act of the American government; that our officers ought not to believe the passports and certificates produced by the American seamen. If this is to be the tone, and if we are to act accordingly, there is no possibility of making peace with America. Peace implies *treaty* and *confidence*; but, what confidence are we to have in a nation such as our hirelings describe America to be? This arrogant, this insolent tone must be dropped, or peace is impossible.

The fact of our impressing of native Americans is affected to be denied, and Lord Castlereagh does not notice the proposition to *restore* those whom we have already impressed. But, Sir, if the fact were not perfectly notorious, that thousands have been released by us, the letter of CAPTAIN DAGRES, of the *Guerriere*, removes all doubt upon the subject; for, in that letter, intended to account for his defeat by the *Constitution*, he says, that PART OF HIS CREW WERE NATIVE AMERICANS, and, they not choosing to fight against their country, he suffered them to be inactive spectators. Now, here we have the fact clearly ac-

knowledge, that we had Americans unwillingly serving on board. And, what a lamentable contrast do we find in the same letter, with regard to some *English seamen* said to have been on board the *Constitution*; to which I beg leave to add, for your most serious moment, the fact (if a fact it be) that part of the crews of the victorious American ships, the *Wasp* and the *United States*, were *English*. Nay, it is stated in the *Courier* news-paper, upon what is asserted to be good authority, that *two thirds* of the crews of the American ships of war are *English seamen*. If this be true, it is another, and a most cogent reason, for acceding to the terms of America, and putting an end to the war; for, the longer the war continues the longer will continue a connexion from which such fearful consequences may ensue.

At any rate, it appears to me, that our own safety, if the war is to be continued, will dictate the discharging of all the impressed Americans whom we may have on board of our ships. Fight against their country they will not, unless they be *forced*, and who is to foresee and provide against the contagion of such an example? Against this evil, however, and against numerous others, which I forbear to mention, the measure proposed by the President would completely guard us; and, the respect, which it is my duty to entertain towards your Royal Highness, bids me hope that that proposition will finally be accepted.

I am, &c. &c.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, 29th Dec. 1812.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

NORTHERN WAR.—And, he is not *dead*! He is not *dead*! And all the Lloyd's men are baffled!—Napoleon, after having conducted his army out of danger, has himself returned to Paris, where, it appears he has been received with as much joy as if he had met, in his absence, with no reverse at all.—The 29th Bulletin does him more honour than any one he has ever published. It is a candid exposition of his own disappointment and of the sufferings of his army. It contains internal evidence of its truth, and leaves, in my mind, no doubt at all, not only of his *design*, but of his full *ability*, to recommence his attack on Russia in the spring.—I will, on some future occa-

sion, review the accounts of "his defeat," which have been published in London; for, such a string of falsehoods, such impudent, and at the same time such stupid attempts at deception, were never, surely, heard of before. These accounts would make a most curious and not a small volume. It is a volume of which he will not lose sight, I dare say.—What mischiefs have not this vile press done in the world! Now where is the *Bourbon project*? Now where are all the hopes of "marching to peace over his corpse?"—The dream is already over, and we awaken to the reality of endless war.—The "three armies in his front and two armies in his rear" could not, it seems, arrest his progress. In short, either almost the whole of what we heard of his perils was false, or he has now gained a thousand times more glory than he ever before was entitled to.—For my part, I am quite struck dumb at the credulity of those who believe him to be a *fallen man*. It fills one with despair to see any portion of the public so besotted. Far be it from me to blame any Englishman for *wishing* to see Napoleon down; but, to believe that he is so, when they see him return to his capital amidst the acclamations of the French people, is, one would suppose, too much for any people in their senses.—In a few weeks, however, we shall see reflection return. Kutosow's adventures have been a sort of honey-moon to us. When that is quite passed, we shall become as mopish as gib-cats. We shall look back with shame to our ecstasies and deliriums; and, about that time too will come the landlord with his reckoning; that is to say, the minister with his Budget, and the war with its extended demands.

WM. COBBETT.

Bolley, 30th Dec. 1812.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

AMERICAN PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

(Continued from page 830, vol. 22.)

maintenance of our own; that it was preceded by a patience without example, under wrongs accumulating without end; and that it was finally not declared, until every hope of averting it was extinguished by the transfer of the British Sceptres into new hands, clinging to former Councils, and until declarations were reiterated in the last

hour through the British Envoy here, that the hostile edicts against our commercial rights and our maritime independence would not be revoked; nay, that they could not be revoked, without violating the obligations of Great Britain to other Powers as well as to her own interests. To have shrunk under such circumstances, from manly resistance, would have been a degradation blasting our best and proudest hopes. It would have struck us from the high rank where the virtuous struggles of our fathers had placed us, and have betrayed the magnificent legacy which we hold in trust for future generations. It would have acknowledged, that on the element which forms three-fourths of the globe we inhabit, and where all independent nations have equal and common rights, the American people were not an independent people, but colonists and vassals.—It was at this moment, and with such an alternative, that war was chosen. The nation felt the necessity of it, and called for it. The appeal was accordingly made in a just cause, to the just and powerful Being who holds in his hands the chain of events and the destiny of nations. It remains only, that faithful to ourselves, entangled with no connexions with the views of other Powers, and ever ready to accept peace from the hand of justice, we prosecute that war with united council, and with the ample faculties of the nation, until peace be so obtained, and as the only means under the divine blessing of speedily obtaining it.

JAMES MADISON.

Nov. 4, 1812.

ARMIES OF SPAIN.

OFFICE OF THE MINISTER AT WAR.

Paris, Dec. 11.

Copy of a Letter written to the Minister at War by Marshal Jourdan, Chief of his Catholic Majesty's Staff.

Salamanca, Nov. 21.

I have the honour to address to your Excellency the account of the prisoners of war and deserters which have entered Salamanca from the 16th up to this evening.—I am ignorant whether the Duke of Dalmatia, whose head-quarters ought to be at Salvatierra, has any still with him. When I shall be informed on that head, I shall have the honour to render you an account thereof.

Account of the Prisoners of War and Deserters, which have entered Salamanca, from the 16th Nov. to this day, the 21st of the same month.

	Officers.	Sub-Officers and Soldiers.
English . . .	7	1,414
Portuguese . . .	9	904
Spanish . . .	9	849
Deserters . . .	0	330
	—	—
	25	3,497

Among the officers is Lieutenant-General Paget.

JOURDAN, Marshal of the Empire.

Extract of a Letter from Baron Thouvenot, General of Brigade, Governor of the 4th Government of Spain, to the Minister at War.

Vittoria, Dec. 4.

General Bigarre, Aid-de-camp to his Catholic Majesty, has just arrived at Vittoria, bearing dispatches for the Emperor. He announces that 2,600 prisoners, among whom is General Paget, will arrive on the 6th at Vittoria, under the escort of 3,000 of the army of Portugal.—The English have retreated into Portugal, and it appears that our affairs in that quarter are going on as well as possible.—The General in Chief, Count Reille, set out to-day to proceed on his route to Burgos.

(Signed) BARON THOUVENOT.

Extracts from Dispatches addressed to the Minister at War, the Duke of Feltre, by Marshal Jourdan, Chief of his Catholic Majesty's Staff.

Madrid, Nov. 3.

The King departed from Cuenza on the 26th, and fixed his head-quarters at Horcajada; the head of the Army of the Centre arrived on the same day at Tarancon.—On the 27th his Majesty arrived at Tarancon; reconnoissances were pushed on Fuente Duena, which was still occupied by the English troops; the bridge of boats had been withdrawn upon the right bank of the Tagus.—The Duke of Dalmatia arrived on the 25th at Santa Cruz de la Sarza; on the same day, the reserve of cavalry of the army of the South, commanded by General Tilly, was at Villa Tobas. The Duke of Dalmatia ordered him to push a very strong reconnoissance on Ocana; Gen. Bonnemain had the command of it. He found at Ocana 17 English and Portuguese squadrons, commanded by General Long, who would not fight, and who fell back upon Aranjuez.

—Gen. Bonnemain pursued him for a league on the other side of Ocana; he overtook his rear-guard, sabred 30 men, and made 20 prisoners; he also carried away about thirty horses. The Duke of Dalmatia fixed his head-quarters on the 26th at Ocana, whence he sent a reconnoissance upon Aranjuez. The enemy had evacuated this town, blown up the bridge of la Reyna, and burnt the one near the palace; several corps of infantry and cavalry were seen in the park on the right bank. The Duke of Dalmatia began his operations for rebuilding the bridges. The tide of the Tagus was very high; the fords were impracticable. On the 28th, his Majesty marched with his reserve to Santa Cruz de la Parza. On the same day the troops of the Army of the Centre, who marched upon the Tagus to reconnoitre the force and position of the enemy, discovered that he had evacuated Fuente Duena. The boats of the bridge were on the right bank, however, without having received any damage; the posts and cables had been cut, and the beams carried away. An officer of sappers swam across the river; his example was followed by several soldiers; the boats were replaced, and the rebuilding of the bridge was immediately set about. On the 29th, the King moved his head-quarters to Ocana. On the same day the enemy's troops, who had remained in the park of Aranjuez, on the right bank of the Tagus, retired behind the Jarama. The Duke of Dalmatia advanced to Aranjuez.—On the 30th, the bridges were entirely re-established at Aranjuez and Fuente Duena. It was reported that the enemy intended to concentrate his forces upon the right bank of the Jarama, and that he appeared inclined to defend that position, which is extremely strong. Marshal the Duke of Dalmatia made a reconnoissance this day; he found the enemy intrenched upon the bridge of the Jarama, called Puente Largo; after several volleys of cannon, the enemy withdrew his artillery, and exploded two mines, which blew up one arch of the bridge. The Duke of Dalmatia then ordered the firing of the musketry to cease, as it was now without object. Our loss in this battle was about 25 wounded, among whom was an officer of Voltigeurs: the enemy's loss was much more considerable: he had several men killed on the bridge.—The Duke of Dalmatia still supposed the enemy intended to give battle in the position which overlooks the Jarama, and as this position is truly inassailable in front, it was necessary

to manœuvre to force the enemy to abandon it.—On the 31st, the Duke of Dalmatia learnt, and announced to his Majesty, that the enemy had abandoned Puente Largo. This bridge was re-established, and on the same day the advanced guard of the Army of the South advanced to Valdemoro, and took about 500 prisoners. The divisions of this army began to march on the night of the 31st, from the different points which they occupied, and passed the Tagus at Aranjuez; they defiled during the whole of the day and night of the 1st of November. The army had not entirely passed the Tagus on the 2d of November, at six o'clock in the morning.—The King proceeded on the 31st to Aranjuez, and ordered the Count D'Erlon to march upon this point, in order to follow the movement of the army of the South.—On the 1st of November, the advanced posts of the army of the South arrived near Madrid; that city was evacuated, and the enemy made his retreat by the Puerto de Guadarama.—On the 2d, the army of the South was concentrated in the environs of Madrid; the advanced guard proceeded to the Escorial, and continued to make prisoners. On the same day the division of Gen. Villatte arrived in Madrid, and his Majesty also arrived with his guards; the army of the Centre defiled upon the bridge of Aranjuez.—This day, the 5th, the troops of the army of the South marched in the direction of the Escorial and Guadarama; the advanced guard must now be on the other side of the mountains.—The army of the Centre is arrived in the neighbourhood of Madrid; General D'Armagnac's division has succeeded, in Madrid, that of Gen. Villatte, which has followed the movement of the army of the South.—The infantry of the royal guard has just departed, to sleep at Las-Rosas; it will arrive to-morrow at Guadarama, and the King will rejoin it with his cavalry. His Majesty's intention is to pursue the enemy with the army of the South, and to place himself in communication with the army of Portugal. The army of the Centre will continue united in Madrid and its neighbourhood, and will be in readiness to join the King, if Lord Wellington should concentrate his forces to give battle.

(Signed) JOURDAN.

Salamanca, Nov. 10, 1812.

As I had the honour of intimating to you in my letter of the 3d, the King left Madrid on the 4th with his guard. The same day his Majesty established his head-quarters at

Guadarama. The cavalry of the army of the South occupied St. Antonio de las Naras and Villa Castin. One part of the infantry was at L'Espinar, the other part remained at Guadarama and Guadalapagar.—In the night between the 4th and 5th, the Duke of Dalmatia reported to the King that General Hill was continuing his retreat, and that he appeared to direct his march upon Arrevalo, where, it was said, he was to form his junction with Lord Wellington. The King had no certain intelligence of the army of Portugal, but all that could be learned indicated that army to have answered on the right of the Douro, all the bridges of which the enemy had destroyed, and that Lord Wellington announced the intention of leaving on the left bank a portion of his army to observe that of Portugal, and to join the rest of General Hill's at Arrevalo, in order to combat the army of the South separately. His Majesty, that nothing might be compromised, thought it right to call to his aid the army of the Centre, which remained at Madrid. He, therefore, on the 5th, ordered the Count of Erlon to leave Madrid immediately, and to advance as rapidly as possible on Villa Castin, whence he would have to follow the direction taken by the army.—On the 5th, the King moved his head-quarters to Villa Castin. The same day, our cavalry having arrived on the Boltaya, perceived that of the enemy on the right bank of the river, covering the march of their infantry. The Duke of Dalmatia hastened the march of his infantry, and united some divisions at Labajos; the cavalry followed the movements of the enemy, who took the direction of Penaranda, and met that of Arrevalo. Our cavalry took a position at Villa Nueva de Gomez, Blasco-Sancho, and Sanchidrion.—On the 6th, the King advanced his head-quarters to Arrevalo, and all the army moved in that direction.—On the 7th, the King remained at Arrevalo. Reconnoitring parties were sent out, which communicated with the army of Portugal, which had arrived at Medina del Campo. The divisions of the army of the South, which were still in the rear, continued their march upon Arrevalo. General Count Souham, commander of the army of Portugal, reported to the King, that Lord Wellington was directing his march on Salamanca with four divisions of his army, and a Spanish army commanded by Castanos.—On the 8th, the King still continued at Arrevalo. The troops of the army of the South, which were yet behind, proce-

cuted their march, and the army of the Centre arrived at Villa Castin. The same day the Duke of Dalmatia moved his cavalry on Penaranda, and some divisions of infantry were at Flores de Avilla.—On the 9th, the King's head-quarters were at Flores de Avilla; the army of the Centre advanced upon Fuentiveros; that of Portugal on Vittoria, Babila Fuente, and Huerta. The cavalry of the army of the South proceeded towards Alba de Tormes, and the infantry advanced to Flores de Avilla and Penaranda.—This day, the 10th, the King arrived at Penaranda, where his Majesty established his head-quarters. Count D'Erlon continued his movement to establish himself at Macotera and its environs; the army of Portugal is completing its movement upon Babila Fuente. The Duke of Dalmatia has directed his march towards Alba de Tormes, with his cavalry and part of his infantry. Alba de Tormes appears to be strongly occupied. The Duke of Dalmatia has fired 1,500 cannon on this post, without being able to dislodge the enemy.—Count Souham reports, that Lord Wellington occupies the position of San Christoval, in advance of Salamanca.—During this march some hundreds of prisoners have been collected, together with some equipages.

I pray, &c. (Signed) JOURDAN.

Extract of a Letter from General Lamarque, Commander in Upper Catalonia, to the Minister at War.

Gerona, Nov. 29.

Sir,—Areynes-del-Mare was the *entrepôt* of the enemy's smuggling, and one of his magazines. This criminal commerce was carried on under the protection of the English ships lying in the roads.—A moveable battery was placed at the entrance of the town; the first firing put the English to flight, all their vessels stood out to sea, and we have taken possession of Areyns-del-Mare and of its magazines, the enemy making no endeavour to thwart our operation. The Catalonians perceived, from the conduct of the English in this instance, how little they can rely on the promises of such worthless auxiliaries.—The English merchandises seized at Areyns-del-Mare were instantly either burnt or thrown into the sea; but the grain, flour, rice, and other provisions, were conducted to the magazines of Barcelona. The articles brought from the Spanish colonies, such as the sugar and coffee of Havanna, the cottons of Vera-Cruz and Motril, and the leather of Buenos

Ayres, were forwarded to Gerona, to be there sold for the profit of the army; the quinquina, the manna, the gum, and the wax were reserved for the military hospitals.

(Signed) M. LAMARQUE.

DOCUMENTS

WHICH ACCOMPANIED THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

Mr. Russell to Lord Castlereagh.

My Lord,—It is only necessary, I trust, to call the attention of your Lordship to a review of the conduct of the Government of the United States, to prove incontrovertibly its unceasing anxiety to maintain the relations of peace and friendship with Great Britain. Its patience in suffering the many wrongs which it has received, and its perseverance in endeavouring, by amicable means, to obtain redress, are known to the world. Despairing, at length, of receiving this redress from the justice of the British Government, to which it had so often applied in vain, and feeling that a further forbearance would be a virtual surrender of the interests and rights essential to the prosperity and independence of the nation confided to its protection, it has been compelled to discharge its high duty by an appeal to arms. While, however, it regards this course as the only one which remained for it to pursue with a hope of preserving any portion of that kind of character, which constitutes the vital strength of every nation, yet it is still willing to give another proof of the spirit which has uniformly distinguished its proceedings, by seeking to arrest, on terms consistent with justice and honour, the calamities of war. It has, therefore, authorized me to stipulate with His Britannic Majesty's Government, an armistice, to commence at or before the expiration of 60 days after the signature of the instrument providing for it, on condition that the Orders in Council be repealed, and no illegal blockades be substituted for them, and that orders be immediately given to discontinue the impressment of persons from American vessels, and to restore the citizens of the United States already impressed; it being moreover well understood that the British Government will assent to enter into definitive arrangements, as soon as may be, on these and every other difference, by a Treaty, to be concluded, either at London or Washington, as on an impar-

tial consideration of existing circumstances shall be deemed most expedient.—As an inducement to Great Britain to discontinue the practice of impressment from American vessels, I am authorized to give assurance that a law shall be passed (to be reciprocal) to prohibit the employment of British seamen in the public or commercial service of the United States.—It is sincerely believed, that such an arrangement would prove more efficacious, in securing to Great Britain her seamen, than the practice of impressment, so derogatory to the sovereign attributes of the United States, and so incompatible with the personal rights of their citizens.—Your Lordship will not be surprised that I have presented the revocation of the Orders in Council as a preliminary to the suspension of hostilities, when it is considered that the act of the British Government of the 23d of June last, ordaining that revocation, is predicated on conditions, the performance of which is rendered impracticable by the change which is since known to have occurred in the relations between the two countries. It cannot now be expected that the Government of the United States will immediately, on due notice of that Act, revoke, or cause to be revoked, its Acts, excluding from the waters and harbours of the United States all British armed vessels, and interdicting commercial intercourse with Great Britain. Such a procedure would necessarily involve consequences too unreasonable and extravagant to be for a moment presumed. The Order in Council of the 23d of June last will, therefore, according to its own terms, be null, and of no effect, and a new act of the British Government, adapted to existing circumstances, is obviously required for the effectual repeal of the Orders in Council of which the United States complain.—The Government of the United States considers indemnity for injuries received under the Orders in Council and other edicts, violating the rights of the American nation, to be incident to their repeal, and it believes that satisfactory provision will be made in the definitive treaty to be hereafter negotiated for this purpose.—The conditions now offered to the British Government for the termination of the war by an armistice, as above stated, are so moderate and just in themselves, and so entirely consistent with its interest and honour, that a confident hope is indulged that it will not hesitate to accept them. In so doing it will abandon no right; it will sacrifice no interest; it will abstain only from

violating the rights of the United States, and in return it will restore peace with the Power, from whom in a friendly commercial intercourse so many advantages are to be derived.—Your Lordship is undoubtedly aware of the serious difficulties with which the prosecution of the war, even for a short period, must necessarily embarrass all future attempts at accommodation. Passions exasperated by injuries—alliances or conquests on terms which forbid their abandonment—will inevitably hereafter embitter and protract a contest which might now be so easily and happily terminated.—Deeply impressed with these truths, I cannot but persuade myself that His Royal Highness the Prince Regent will take into his early consideration the propositions herein made on behalf of the United States, and decide on them in a spirit of conciliation and justice.—I have the honour to be, with high consideration, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient servant,

(Signed) JONA RUSSELL.

To the Right Hon. Lord Viscount
Castlereagh, &c.

Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Russell.

Foreign Office, Aug. 29.

Sir,—Although the diplomatic relations between the two Governments have been terminated, by a declaration of war on the part of the United States, I have not hesitated, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, and the authority under which you act, to submit to the Prince Regent the proposition contained in your letter of the 24th inst. for a suspension of hostilities.—From the period at which your instructions must have been issued, it is obvious that this overture was determined upon by the Government of the United States in ignorance of the Order in Council of the 23d of June last, and as you inform me that you are not at liberty to depart from the conditions set forth in your letter, it only remains for me to acquaint you, that the Prince Regent feels himself under the necessity of declining to accede to the propositions therein contained, as being on various grounds absolutely inadmissible.—As soon as there was reason to apprehend that Mr. Foster's functions might have ceased in America, and that he might have been obliged to withdraw himself, in consequence of war being declared, from the United States, before the above-mentioned Order of the 23d of June, and the instructions consequent thereupon, could have

reached him, measures were taken for authorizing the British Admiral on the American station to propose to the United States an immediate and reciprocal revocation of all hostile orders, with the tender of giving full effect, in the event of hostilities being discontinued, to the provisions of the said order, upon conditions therein specified.—From this statement you will perceive, that the view you have taken of this part of the subject is incorrect, and that, in the present state of the relations between the two countries, the operation of the Order of the 23d of June can only be defeated by a refusal on the part of your Government to desist from hostilities, or to comply with the conditions expressed in the said Order.—Under the circumstances of your having no powers to negotiate, I must decline entering into a detailed discussion of the propositions which you have been directed to bring forward.—I cannot, however, refrain on one single point from expressing my surprise; namely, that, as a condition, preliminary even to a suspension of hostilities, the Government of the United States should have thought fit to demand, that the British Government should desist from its ancient and accustomed practice of impressing British seamen from the merchant ships of a foreign State, simply on the assurance that a law shall hereafter be passed, to prohibit the employment of British seamen in the public or commercial service of that State.—The British Government now, as heretofore, is ready to receive from the Government of the United States, and amicably to discuss, any proposition which professes to have in view either to check abuse in exercise of the practice of impressment, or to accomplish, by means less liable to vexation, the object for which impressment has hitherto been found necessary; but they cannot consent to suspend the exercise of a right upon which the naval strength of the empire mainly depends, until they are fully convinced that means can be devised, and will be adopted, by which the object to be obtained by the exercise of that right can be effectually secured. I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient humble Servant,

(Signed) CASTLEREAGH.

J. Russell, Esq. &c.

Mr. Russell to Lord Castlereagh.

18, Bentinck-street, 1st Sept. 1812.

My Lord,—I have learnt with much regret, by your Lordship's note, dated the

29th ult. which I did not receive until this morning, that the Prince Regent has thought proper to decline to accede to the proposition for a suspension of hostilities, contained in my note of the 21st of August.

—It has been matter of surprise to me that my view with regard to the revocation of the Orders in Council on the 23d of June last should have been considered to have been incorrect, when it appears by your Lordship's note that the British Government itself had deemed it necessary to give powers to the British Admiral to stipulate for its full effect, and thereby admitted that a new act was required for that purpose.

—It now only remains for me to announce to your Lordship that it is my intention to embark immediately at Plymouth, on board the ship *Lark*, for the United States, and to request that permission may be granted, as soon as may be, for the embarkation of my servants, baggage, and the effects of this legation, and that the necessary passports may be furnished for my own and their safe conduct to that destination.—I avail myself of this occasion to apprise your Lordship, that I am authorized by the Government of the United States to leave Reuben Gaunt Beasley, Esq. as its agent for prisoners of war in this country, and to desire that every necessary facility may be offered him in the exercise of that trust by the British Government.—I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) JONA RUSSELL.

*The Right Hon. Lord Viscount
Castlereagh.*

Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Russell.

Foreign Office, Sept. 2, 1812.

Sir,—I have laid before His Royal Highness the Prince Regent your letter of the 1st inst. in which you announce your intention to embark immediately at Plymouth, on board the ship *Lark*, for the United States.

—I have already the honour of forwarding to you an Admiralty Order, for the protection of that ship as a cartel on her voyage to America, and I herewith enclose to you a passport for the free embarkation of yourself and family, in conformity to your request. The Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury will issue directions to the Commissioners of the Customs to give every facility to the embarkation of your effects.—If, previous to your departure from England, you can point out

to me any particular manner in which I can facilitate your arrangements, I beg that you will command my services.—His Royal Highness has commanded me to signify to you, for the information of your Government, that there will be no difficulty in allowing Mr. R. G. Beasley, as stated in your letter, to reside in this country, as the United States' agent for prisoners of war.—I have the honour to subscribe myself, with great truth and consideration, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) CASTLEREACH.

J. Russell, Esq.

Correspondence between Sir J. B. Warren, and the Secretary of State, Mr. Monroe.

Halifax, Nova Scotia, Sept. 30.

Sir,—The departure of Mr. Foster from America has devolved upon me the charge of making known to you, for the information of the Government of the United States, the sentiments entertained by His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, upon the existing relations of the two countries.—You will observe from the enclosed copy of an Order in Council, bearing date the 23d of June, 1812, that the Orders in Council of the 7th of Jan. 1807, and the 26th of April, 1809, ceased to exist nearly at the same time that the Government of the United States declared war against His Majesty.—Immediately on the receipt of this declaration in London, the Order in Council, of which a copy is herewith enclosed to you, was issued, on the 31st day of July, for the embargo and detention of all American ships.—Under these circumstances, I am commanded to propose to your Government the immediate cessation of hostilities between the two countries; and I shall be most happy to be the instrument of bringing about a reconciliation, so interesting and beneficial to America and Great Britain.—I therefore propose to you, that the Government of the United States of America shall instantly recall their letters of marque and reprisal against British ships, together with all orders and instructions for any acts of hostility whatever against the territory of His Majesty, or the persons or property of his subjects: with the understanding, that immediately on my receiving from you an official assurance to that effect, I shall instruct all the officers under my command to desist from corresponding measures of war against the ships and property of the

United States, and that I shall transmit, without delay, corresponding intelligence to the several parts of the world where hostilities may have commenced; the British Commanders in which will be required to discontinue hostilities, from the receipt of such notice.—Should the American Government accede to the above proposal for terminating hostilities, I am authorized to arrange with you as to the revocation of the laws which interdict the commerce and ships of war of Great Britain from the harbours and waters of the United States; in default of which revocation within such reasonable period as may be agreed upon, you will observe, by the Order of the 23d of June, the Orders in Council of January, 1807, and April, 1809, are to be revived.—The officer who conveys this letter to the American coast has received my orders to put to sea immediately upon the delivering of this dispatch to the competent Authority; and I earnestly recommend, that no time may be lost in communicating to me the decision of your Government, persuaded as I feel, that it cannot but be of a nature to lead to a speedy termination of the present differences.—The flag of truce which you may charge with your reply, will find one of my cruizers at Sandy Hook, ten days after the landing of this dispatch, which I have directed to call there with a flag of truce for that purpose. I have the honour to be, with the highest consideration,

JOHN BORLASE WARREN,
Admiral of the Blue, and Commander
in Chief, &c.

Mr. Monroe to Sir J. B. Warren.

Department of State, Oct. 27, 1812.

Sir,—I have had the honour to receive your letter of the 30th ult. and to submit it to the consideration of the President.—It appears that you are authorized to propose a cessation of hostilities between the United States and Great Britain, on the ground of the repeal of the Orders in Council; and, in case the proposition is acceded to, to take measures, in concert with this Government, to carry it into complete effect on both sides.—You state, also, that you have it in charge in the event, to enter into an arrangement with the Government of the United States for the repeal of the laws which interdict the ships of war and the commerce of Great Britain from the harbours and waters of the United States; and you intimate, that

if the proposition is not acceded to, the Orders in Council (repealed conditionally by that of the 23d of June last) will be revived against the commerce of the United States.—I am instructed to inform you, that it will be very satisfactory to the President to meet the British Government in such arrangements as may terminate without delay, the hostilities which now exist between the United States and Great Britain, on conditions honourable to both nations.—At the moment of the declaration of war, the President gave a signal proof of the attachment of the United States to peace. Instructions were given, at an early period, to the late *Chargé d'Affaires* of the United States at London, to propose to the British Government an armistice, on conditions which, it was presumed, would have been satisfactory. It has been seen with regret, that the proposition made by Mr. Monroe, particularly in regard to the important interest of impressment, was rejected, and that none was offered through that channel, as a basis on which hostilities might cease.—As your Government has authorized you to propose a cessation of hostilities, and is doubtless aware of the important and salutary effect which a satisfactory adjustment of this difference cannot fail to have on the future relations between the two countries, I indulge the hope that it has, ere this, given you full powers for the purpose. Experience has sufficiently evinced that no peace can be durable, unless this object is provided for: it is presumed, therefore, that it is equally the interest of both countries to adjust it at this time.—Without further discussing questions of right, the President is desirous to provide a remedy for the evils complained of on both sides. The claim of the British Government is to take from the merchant vessels of other countries British subjects. In the practice, the Commanders of British ships of war often take from the merchant vessels of the United States American citizens. If the United States prohibit the employment of British subjects in their service, and enforce the prohibition by suitable regulations and penalties, the motive for the practice is taken away. It is in this mode that the President is willing to accommodate this important controversy with the British Government, and it cannot be conceived on what ground the arrangement can be refused.—A suspension of the practice of impressment, pending the armistice, seems to be a necessary conse-

quence. It cannot be presumed, while the parties are engaged in a negotiation to adjust amicably this important difference, that the United States would admit the right or acquiesce in the practice of the opposite party; or that Great Britain would be unwilling to restrain her cruizers from a practice which would have the strongest tendency to defeat the negotiation. It is presumable that both parties would enter into a negotiation with a sincere desire to give it effect. For this purpose, it is necessary that a clear and distinct understanding be first obtained between them, of the accommodation which each is prepared to make. If the British Government is willing to suspend the practice of impressment from American vessels, on consideration that the United States will exclude British seamen from their service, the regulation by which this compromise should be carried into effect would be solely the object of this negotiation. The armistice would be of short duration. If the parties agree, peace would be the result. If the negotiation failed, each would be restored to its former state, and to all its pretensions, by recurring to war.—Lord Castlereagh, in his note to Mr. Russell, seems to have supposed, that, had the British Government accepted the propositions made to it, Great Britain would have suspended immediately the exercise of a right on the mere assurance of this Government, that a law would be afterwards passed to prohibit the employment of British seamen in the service of the United States, and that Great Britain would have no agency in the regulation to give effect to that proposition. Such an idea was not in the contemplation of this Government, nor is to be reasonably inferred from Mr. Russell's note: least, however, by possibility such an inference might be drawn from the instructions to Mr. Russell, and anxious that there should be no misunderstanding in the case, subsequent instructions were given to Mr. Russell, with a view to obviate every objection of the kind alluded to. As they bear date on the 27th of July, and were forwarded by the British packet *Alpheia*, it is more than probable that they may have been received and acted on.—I am happy to explain to you thus fully the views of my Government on this important subject. The President desires that the war which exists between our countries should be terminated on such conditions as may secure a solid and durable peace. To accomplish this great object, it is necessary

that the interest of impressment be satisfactorily arranged. He is willing that Great Britain should be secured against the evils of which she complains. He seeks, on the other hand, that the citizens of the United States should be protected against a practice, which, while it degrades the nation, deprives them of their right as freemen, takes them by force from their families and their country, into a foreign service, to fight the battles of a foreign Power, perhaps against their own kindred and country.—I abstain from entering, in this communication, into other grounds of differences. The Orders in Council having been repealed (with a reservation not impairing a corresponding right on the part of the United States), and no illegal blockades revived or instituted in their stead, and an understanding being obtained on the subject of impressment, in the mode herein proposed, the President is willing to agree to a cessation of hostilities, with a view to arrange, by treaty, in a more distinct and ample manner, and to the satisfaction of both parties, every other subject of controversy.—I will only add, that if there be no objection to an accommodation of the difference relating to impressment, in the mode proposed, other than the suspension of the British claims to impressment during the armistice, there can be none to proceeding, without the armistice, to an immediate discussion and arrangement of an article on that subject. This great question being satisfactorily adjusted, the way will be open either for an armistice or any other course leading most conveniently and expeditiously to a general pacification.

I have the honour to be, &c.

JAMES MONRO.

PROCLAMATION,

Issued by the Emperor Alexander, dated St. Petersburg, Nov. 15.

We, Alexander the First, by the Grace of God, Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias, &c.—It is well known to the whole world in what manner the enemy has entered the boundaries of our empire. No step or means that have so frequently been resorted to by the punctual fulfilment of the peaceable stipulations, nor our steady endeavours by all possible means to avert the effects of a bloody and destructive war, have been able to check his obstinate design, in which he has shewn himself entirely immovable. With peaceable pro-

mises on his tongue, he never ceased to think on war. At length having collected a large army, and strengthened it with Austrian, Prussian, Bavarian, Wurtemberg, Westphalian, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and Polish regiments; who were constrained through disgrace and fear, he put himself in motion with this immense force, supplied with vast quantities of artillery, and penetrated into the interior of our country. Murder, fire, and destruction, were his attendants on the march. The plundered property, the towns and villages set on fire, the smoking ruins of Moscow, the Kremlin blown up into the air, the temples and altars of the Lord destroyed; in one word, all kinds of cruelty and barbarity, hitherto unheard of, at length prove by his own actions, that they have long been lying concealed in the depth of his mind. The mighty and happy Russian Empire, which possesses every thing in abundance, awakened in the heart of the enemy envy and dread. The possession of the whole world could not satisfy him, so long as the fertile fields of Russia still were happy. Full of this envy and internal hatred, he revolved, turned, and arranged in his mind, all manner of evil means by which he might give a dreadful blow to her power, a total confusion to her riches, and bring general destruction on her prosperity. He likewise thought, by cunning and flattery, to shake the fidelity of our subjects; by the defilement of the sanctuaries, and of God's temples, to make religion unsteady, and to strike the national sight with follies and extravagances. On these hopes he built his destructive plans, and with them he forced himself, like a pestilential and murderous tempest, into the heart of Russia.—The whole world has fixed its attention on our suffering country, and inwardly moved, thought they saw in the reflection of the flames of Moscow the last day of the existence of our freedom and independence. But great and mighty is the God of Justice! The triumph of the enemy was of short duration; pressed on all sides by our valiant armies and levies, he soon discovered that by his temerity he had ventured too far, and that he could not, either by his vaunted army, his seducements, or his cruelties, inspire fear into the loyal and valiant Russians, nor save himself from destruction. After many fruitless endeavours, and now that he sees his numerous troops every where beaten and destroyed,

(To be continued.)

ENGLISH LIBERTY OF THE PRESS,

As illustrated in the Prosecution and Punishment of

WILLIAM COBBETT.

[31]

IN order that my countrymen and that the world may not be deceived, duped, and cheated upon this subject, I, WILLIAM COBBETT, of Botley, in Hampshire, put upon record the following facts; to wit: That, on the 24th June, 1809, the following article was published in a London news-paper, called the *COURIER*:—"The Mutiny amongst the *LOCAL MILITIA*, which broke out at Ely, was *fortunately* suppressed on Wednesday by the arrival of four squadrons of the *GERMAN LEGION CAVALRY* from Bury, under the command of General Auckland. Five of the ringleaders were tried by a Court-Martial, and *sentenced to receive 500 lashes each*, part of which punishment they received on Wednesday, and a part was remitted. *A stoppage for their knapsacks* was the ground of the complaint that excited this mutinous spirit, which occasioned the men to surround their officers, and demand what they deemed their arrears. The first division of the German Legion halted yesterday at Newmarket on their return to Bury."—That, on the 1st July, 1809, I published, in the *Political Register*, an article censuring, in the strongest terms, these proceedings; that, for so doing, the Attorney General prosecuted, as seditious libellers, and by Ex-Officio Information, me, and also my printer, my publisher, and one of the principal retailers of the *Political Register*; that I was brought to trial on the 15th June, 1810, and was, by a Special Jury, that is to say, by 12 men out of 48 appointed by the Master of the Crown Office, found guilty; that, on the 20th of the same month, I was compelled to give bail for my appearance to receive judgment; and that, as I came up from Botley (to which place I had returned to my family and my farm on the evening of the 15th), a Tipstaff went down from London in order to seize me, personally; that, on the 9th of July, 1810, I, together with my printer, publisher, and the news-man, were brought into the Court of King's Bench to receive judgment; that the three former were sentenced to be imprisoned for some months in the King's Bench prison; that I was sentenced to be imprisoned for two years in Newgate, the great receptacle for malefactors, and the front of which is the scene of numerous hangings in the course of every year; that the part of the prison in which I was sentenced to be confined is sometimes inhabited by felons, that felons were actually in it at the time I entered it; that one man was taken out of it to be transported in about 48 hours after I was put into the same yard with him; and that it is the place of confinement for men guilty of unnatural crimes, of whom there are four in it at this time; that, besides this imprisonment, I was sentenced to pay a thousand pounds TO THE KING, and to give security for my good behaviour for seven years, myself in the sum of 3,000 pounds, and

[32]

two sureties in the sum of 1,000 pounds each; that the whole of this sentence has been executed upon me, that I have been imprisoned the two years, have paid the thousand pounds TO THE KING, and have given the bail, Timothy Brown and Peter Walker, Esqrs. being my sureties; that the Attorney General was Sir Vicary Gibbs, the Judge who sat at the trial Lord Ellenborough, the four Judges who sat at passing sentence Ellenborough, Grose, Le Blanc, and Bailey; and that the jurors were, Thomas Rhodes of Hampstead Road, John Davis of Southampton Place, James Ellis of Tottenham Court Road, John Richards of Bayswater, Thomas Marsham of Baker Street, Robert Heathcote of High Street Marylebone, John Maud of York Place Marylebone, George Bagster of Church Terrace Pancras, Thomas Taylor of Red Lion Square, David Deane of St. John Street, William Palmer of Upper Street Islington, Henry Favre of Pall Mall; that the Prime Ministers during the time were Spencer Perceval, until he was shot by John Bellingham, and after that Robert B. Jenkinson, Earl of Liverpool; that the prosecution and sentence took place in the reign of King George the Third, and that, he having become insane during my imprisonment, the 1,000 pounds was paid to his son, the Prince Regent, in his behalf; that, during my imprisonment, I wrote and published 364 Essays and Letters upon political subjects; that, during the same time, I was visited by persons from 197 cities and towns, many of them as a sort of deputies from Societies or Clubs; that, at the expiration of my imprisonment, on the 9th of July, 1812, a great dinner was given in London for the purpose of receiving me, at which dinner upwards of 600 persons were present, and at which Sir Francis Burdett presided; that dinners and other parties were held on the same occasion in many other places in England; that, on my way home, I was received at Alton, the first town in Hampshire, with the ringing of the Church bells; that a respectable company met me and gave me a dinner at Winchester; that I was drawn from more than the distance of a mile into Botley by the people; that, upon my arrival in the village, I found all the people assembled to receive me; that I concluded the day by explaining to them the cause of my imprisonment, and by giving them clear notions respecting the flogging of the Local Militia-men at Ely, and respecting the employment of German Troops; and, finally, which is more than a compensation for my losses and all my sufferings, I am in perfect health and strength, and, though I must, for the sake of six children, feel the diminution that has been made in my property (thinking it right in me to decline the offer of a subscription), I have the consolation to see growing up three sons, upon whose hearts, I trust, all these facts will be engraven.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, July 23, 1812.

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